



Colorado Liberty

SPECIAL CONVENTION PULLOUT ENCLOSED

John Baden: Environment Better Protected By Libertarianism Than By Environmentalism

by Carolyn Phelps

A radical proposal? Turning the ownership of wilderness areas over to private interests is still a radical idea, admits Dr. John Baden, director at the Center for Political Economy and Natural Resources at Montana State University, but not as radical as it was ten years ago. Addressing a meeting of Coloradans for Free Enterprise, April 30, Baden said he was likely to be laughed out of the room in 1972 if he suggested wilderness areas should be turned over to environmental groups, but in 1982, considering the high cost, both economi-

political sector than they are in the private sector, he added.

Baden emphasized that he didn't believe the people working for the Bureau of Land Management or the U.S. Forest Service were either "dumb or evil." The institutions just aren't motivated by economic efficiency, he said. For example, BLM runs 170 million acres of grazing land in Wyoming, Utah, and Idaho. Since BLM is committed to growing grass they decided the pinon trees were "invaders of grass" and must be eliminated.

Protesters Give Tax Slaves Glimpse of Hope

by Patty Jungk

The Libertarians held their traditional tax protest on the night of April 15 at the main post office in downtown Denver. Over the course of the evening, roughly 100 people (30-40 Libertarians and assorted anarchists, Birchers and anti-nuke people) braved the chill night air to participate in the festivities.

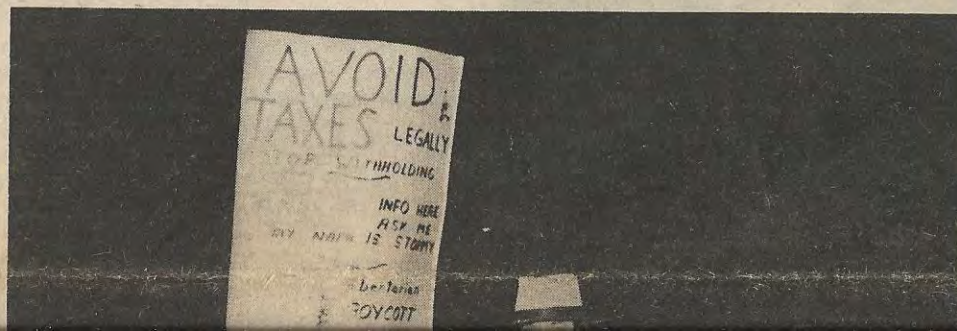
The media added to the carnival air. KBPI had a table set up with coffee and donuts, and a young man dressed as a mime in whiteface and black jumpsuit was handing donuts to the passing motorists, compliments of the station. KIMN was broadcasting live from their mobile unit. There was an R2D2 clone running around flashing its lights and beeping.

The well-prepared and articulate Stormy Mon captured the attention of the TV reporters right away with his "Avoid Taxes Legally" sign. He taped an interview with Scott Monahan of Channel 7 with Phil Prosser holding a large "Vote Libertarian" sign as a backdrop. Stormy's most exciting moments of the evening came when he was

interviewed live for the 10 o'clock news by Channel 9's Vic Singer. He also made the front page of the *Denver Post*. All in all, it was a very productive night for the Libertarians in terms of media impact and we all owe Stormy a great deal of gratitude for his efforts.

While Stormy was handling the media, the rest of us were waving signs and handing out literature to the most sympathetic public we've had in a long while. Many people expressed support for our position and some honked and cheered. Only one person got extremely negative while I was there and the police waved him on.

It was quite clear from the response of the public that grassroots opposition to the cancerous growth of government is growing. I believe that our job as Libertarians is to convince these people that they do have a choice — we can stop this cancer. The fear of change is our worst enemy. The response of the people at the tax protest showed that we are beginning to overcome this fear.



laughed out of the room in 1972 if he suggested wilderness areas should be turned over to environmental groups, but in 1982, considering the high cost, both economically and to the environment, of government mismanagement of wilderness areas, his proposals have become more credible.

Baden proposes to turn over 1% of wilderness land per year to such non-profit environmental groups as the Audubon Society, the Sierra Club, or the Wilderness Society. There are a variety of ways this could be done, he said. The land could be sold to these environmental groups or the groups could pay for the land by doing other things to benefit society. For example, Baden suggested, the non-profit organizations could manage an outdoor camp for poor children or the land could be used for biological studies. Different competing proposals could be presented, he said.

Private ownership of wilderness sets the stage for compromise between environmental interests and corporate interests, whereas government ownership sets the stage for conflict, Baden said. If decisions on how to manage the land are based on property rights, society benefits, but if government makes these decisions only a small group benefits.

"Bureaucrats are darn good entrepreneurs in a perverse way," he said. "Their policies usually benefit a small group at the expense of many." Since many citizens are ignorant about environmental issues, decisions are naturally less informed in the

Wyoming, Utah, and Idaho. Since BLM is committed to growing grass they decided the pinon trees were "invaders of grass" and must be eliminated.

"But at what cost?" Baden asks. He said the government had to bring in D8 cats, hundreds of feet of chain, and move equipment to elevations of 3,200-5,800 feet, all at great taxpayer expense. Not only are the dollar costs high for programs such as these, he said, but the environmental costs are very high also. He cited the Teton Dam and the terracing of the Bitterroot Mountains as "silly destruction of the environment," which must cease.

Baden said his proposal to turn wilderness areas over to environmental groups at least gets people thinking about the economic and environmental costs of wilderness land use. If land were privately owned, self interest would force the owners to weigh the cost of keeping the land pristine against the environmental costs of developing natural resources from the land.

Baden used the Rainey Wildlife Sanctuary, the largest of the Audubon Society's wildlife sanctuaries, as an example of how environmental concerns and economic interests were resolved to the benefit of both the oil companies involved, who are in the business to make money, and the Audubon Society, who wishes to preserve a habitat for wildlife. Three oil companies operate a half-dozen gas producing wells on the preserve, providing the Audubon Society with close to a million dollars a year in royalties. In order to drill, the oil companies must agree to follow the precautions the Audubon Society requires for the protection of the environment.

"This is a beautiful situation where everybody wins," Baden said. "The wildlife isn't disturbed, the Audubon Society is able to expand with royalties from the wells, and the consumer wins because of the development of additional resources."

Baden believes Americans put an extremely high price on the environment. If environmental groups owned wilderness land they would do a better job of managing the land than the federal government does simply because they have more incentive to do so.

Environmental groups, fiscal conservatives, and people who love liberty must work together to preserve the wilderness and manage the land for the benefit of everyone, Baden said. He compared the way the federal government manages wilderness to Soviet agriculture. It just doesn't work.



Stormy Mon and Paul Grant — two libertarians who care enough . . .



Gary and Jan Coen reach out and touch someone.

Photos by John Williams

Colorado Liberty

is published six times a year by the Colorado Libertarian Party. Submissions of material and requests for advertising rates should be sent to *Colorado Liberty*, P.O. Box 1557, Denver, Colorado 80201.

Opinions expressed in signed articles, and the choice of wording therein, represent the views of the author and do not necessarily imply endorsement by the Colorado Libertarian Party.

Likewise, acceptance of advertising by this publication does not imply endorsement or guarantee of the products or services offered.

Letters to the Editor are welcome, but should be brief and topical. We reserve the right to edit letters for space.

Subscription Rate: \$1.00 per issue.

Colorado Libertarian Party
P.O. Box 1557
Denver, CO 80201

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Hess to Group: YOU Hold Your Own Cell Door Shut

by Robin P. White

Karl Hess. The name alone conjures up radical images. From his beginnings in the radical right as a founder of *The National Review* and Goldwater campaign speechwriter to his sojourn among the radical left as bartering anarchist welder and vocal opponent of taxation, Karl Hess is, at once, controversial and delightful. On Sunday, April 25th, he spoke at a workshop sponsored by the Denver Free University and held at Basins Up on Larimer Square.

Speaking on "Survival" to an enthralled audience of about 80 persons, Hess described his own very personal path to individual freedom and self-sufficiency. You must first, he said, "disabuse yourself of a certain moral pomposity and the notion that you are going to save the world . . . Opinions are of very little weight in the world . . . It's what [you] do that's important."

To Hess, the crucial issue is practicality in one's movement toward freedom, and in his speech he outlined three steps in the process: 1) Examine your values; 2) Realize that you can make changes; and 3) Develop your skills.

Your current values may have you terribly trapped, Hess said. The idea that "since you

It is also important to define success not according to the definitions of others, but in one's own terms. For Hess, success is defined in this way: "You are successful if, when you get up in the morning, the project of the day is yours . . . You have established it and set it yourself. And that you can, during that day, do good work." That definition is his, he suggests. You will have to devise your own.

"People make of themselves prisoners." Therefore, the second step is realizing that you already are, in a basic sense, free. "The cell door is held there by your own hands."

Hess put down the notion that money could help one obtain freedom. He demonstrated this through several scenarios of possible cataclysm. Far preferable to "financial independence" then, in his opinion, is "productive independence." "Stockpile those things that are productive: seeds, machine tools, information . . . if you do all that, it doesn't make any difference if there is a cataclysm or not."

There was also a stern warning, delightfully delivered, of course, that people who define themselves in subservience to institutions will allow themselves to be disarmed. There is a pervasive — Hess calls it "natural" — attitude among such people that: "It is our obligation to die for them, since we could not live without them."

Of all the possible activities that can move one toward freedom, Karl Hess strongly emphasized one: "Develop your skills," he said. "Be more versatile." And then, "The notion that your survival in the world can be contrived by saying that you don't care about anybody else has, fortunately, dwindled among all the people I know." Skills and neighbors are the best security an individual can have.

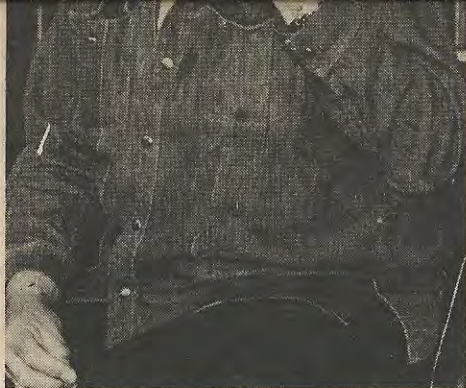
Hess touched upon all subjects in a light and literate style. Of Ronald Reagan, he said: "If you have the proper theology, you

Colorado Libertarian Party Calendar

1st and 3rd Wednesday every month, Discussion Group, 7:30 p.m., Party Office.
2nd Wednesday every month, CLP Cocktail Party, 7:30 p.m., Party Office. Relaxed, informal, cash bar.
1st Wednesday of every month, Boulder County Libertarian Association, 7:30 p.m., at 1913 Broadway in Boulder. Call Jerry Van Sickle for details at (h) 442-0514 or (w) 443-5578.
4th Thursday of every month, Park County Libertarians meet, call Phil Prosser for details at 838-7693.
Every other Thursday, C.U. Libertarians/Objectivists meet at the C.U. Memorial Center. Call Len Jackson, 665-3413, or Robert Blumen, 444-1410, for details.
*4th Wednesday of every month the Arapahoe County Libertarians meet at 7:30 p.m. at the Aurora Public Library, 14949 E. Alameda Drive in the Community Room, 1-A. Call Craig Green days at 795-1629.

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|------|---|
| May | 12th, Wednesday — CLP COCKTAIL PARTY, 7:30 p.m. at the office. Bring a friend!
16th, Sunday — CLP BOARD OF DIRECTORS meet at 11 a.m. at the office, 1041 Cherokee in Denver.
19th, Wednesday — DISCUSSION GROUP, 7:30 p.m. at the office. Topic: Immigration — Benefit or Burden?
22-23, Saturday & Sunday — CAPITOL HILL PEOPLE'S FAIR at East High School. Come by to see the CLP booth — Volunteer to Help!
26th, Wednesday — Arapahoe County Libertarians meet. See above for details.
27th, Thursday — Park County Libertarians meet. See above.
28-31, Friday thru Monday — COLORADO LIBERTARIAN STATE CONVENTION AT THE BROKER IN BOULDER. Call the office (573-5229) or Len Jackson (665-3413) for more information. |
| June | 2nd, Wednesday — DISCUSSION GROUP, 7:30 p.m. at the office. Topic: Providing a voluntary national defense.
2nd, Wednesday — Boulder County Libertarian Association meets. See above.
9th, Wednesday — CLP COCKTAIL PARTY, 7:30 p.m. at the office. Eat, drink and be merry!
12th, Saturday — Free Seminar by Bob Richardson, "The Educational vs. the Political Approach to Freedom," 10 a.m. to noon at the office.
16th, Wednesday — DISCUSSION GROUP, 7:30 at the office. Topic: Are Laws Necessary?
23rd, Wednesday — Arapahoe County Libertarians meet. See above.
24th, Thursday — Park County Libertarians meet. See above.
26th, Saturday — CLP Flea Market. Clean your attic and make a donation to the CLP. Call the office for more details (573-5229). |
| July | 4th, Sunday — Celebrate the 4th with a "Rib-Off" picnic at Jan Prince's, 352 Perry in Denver. \$6 per person for ribs and beer, etc.
7th, Wednesday — DISCUSSION GROUP, 7:30 at the office. Topic: "Eminent Domain."
7th, Wednesday — BCLA meets in Boulder. See above.
14th, Wednesday — CLP COCKTAIL PARTY, 7:30 p.m. at the office. Bring a friend.
17-18, Saturday & Sunday — MICHAEL EMERLING will present a workshop on the "Art of Political Persuasion." Reserve this weekend. More information forthcoming.
21st, Wednesday — Discussion Group, 7:30 p.m. at the office. Call 573-5229 for topic.
26th Monday — Petitioning Starts. Help support our Libertarian candidates. |





Karl Hess

were brought up a certain way you know what's right is a dubious proposition, and it may trap you into doing things in an unexamined way." This problem necessitates a "painstaking personal examination" of each proposition.

security an individual can have. Hess touched upon all subjects in a light and literate style. Of Ronald Reagan, he said: "If you have the proper theology, you can see that Carter was just to get us softened up. And now God has really done it, and he's sent us the genuine article." While of himself, he noted: "I'm very arrogant. I assume I can do anything. But I'm also very humble, because I don't think that is at all exceptional. Anybody can do that."

Hess characterized the afternoon gathering as "our own interim constitutional convention." It provided like-minded people an opportunity for discourse and reaffirmation. "We're talking, and that's all. I mean, nothing I say is true. It's simply what I do." When asked what he thought was the most important contribution an individual could make in this decade, he responded with a humble arrogance, "Live successfully, be happy, and share some of that with your friends and neighbors."



Workshop at Basins Up, Larimer Square.

Photos by John Williams

Get Your Picture In The *Liberty*

A lot of Libertarians get their picture in the *Colorado Liberty* because they happen to wander in front of John Williams' camera at the wrong moment.

But you could get your picture printed and actually earn it. We need someone to distribute the paper around the metro area in laundromats, cafes and the like.

Why not spend a couple of Saturday after-

noons every other month driving around Denver dropping off small stacks of papers. You will be helping to achieve freedom, and if you do a really good job, the staff of the *Colorado Liberty* will not only print your picture, but will treat you to a testimonial dinner at the fast food franchise of your choice!

So volunteer for the job. Remember, the earliest entry wins.

21st, Wednesday — Discussion Group, 7:30 p.m. at the office. Call 573-5229 for topic.
26th Monday — Petitioning Starts. Help support our Libertarian candidates.

ACROSS THE STATE

by Dave Wood

DISTRICT ONE (Most of Denver)

On April 15th about twenty libertarians held a tax protest at the main post office in Denver. The reception was warm from the last minute taxpayers, literature was handed out and the press was on hand to record the festivities. (See story this issue.)

An annual Denver event, presenting the "Unpopularity Poll" at the People's Fair, is coming up May 22nd and 23rd. People at the fair can "vote" for the public figure they dislike the most by dropping coins or bills into a bottle under pictures of the likes of A. Haig, J. Falwell, J. Watt, etc. The Party keeps the money and the crowd "favorite" is publicized. Volunteers are needed to staff the booth, sell T-shirts, bumper stickers and buttons, and to just stand around in the sun, drink beer and have a good time. Please call Patricia Shortridge at 733-3143 or Jan at the office.

John Mason and Curt Shortridge are applying for "permission" to raffle off a car (suggestions as to model will be welcome) as a fund raising project. And a yard sale at the Denver office is being planned by Ruth Bennett for sometime in June.

DISTRICT TWO (Boulder and Jefferson Counties, West Denver)

The most recent meeting of the Boulder County Libertarian Association was very well attended and featured a most entertaining account from Keane Richardson of the ins and outs of Loveland city politics.

The determined and sometimes humorous attempts by the power structure to keep things "in control" were detailed and the story of how a handful of persons were able to change political life in Loveland was presented.

Twenty-seven people attended a breakfast with former Presidential candidate Ed Clark at J.J. McCabes in Boulder, March 27th. Profits from the breakfast were added to the \$2,000 raised at Clark's Denver appearance and went to the state party as well as helping to pay Clark's travel expenses to the Wyoming convention.

The first annual Tax Protest Day was held in Boulder at the downtown post office. Ten people participated in the protest, organized by Tracy Harms and Dave Wood, which lasted from 4:00 p.m. until adjournment at midnight to the local Irish bar. There was quite a variety of homemade signs displayed and around 1,500 pieces of the Tax Day flyer were distributed.

DISTRICT THREE (Southern and Western Colorado)

Gale Arch has arranged for Libertarian candidate Phil Prosser to speak before the Leadville Jr. Chamber of Commerce. Members of the City Council have also been invited. (Continued on Page 3)

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Typographers, Incorporated
Denver, Colorado

Profile of a Libertarian: Craig Green

by Bob Sheffield

Quiet and traditional were the impressions I got when I first met Craig Green at the 1981 Colorado Libertarian Party convention. Quiet and traditional were the impressions I got when I drove through his mature, upper middle class, brick, two-car garage neighborhood. Traditional held up when I walked into his living room with its medieval decor. The baying of hounds broke the quiet but added to the traditional



Craig Green (right) with show dog.

image. All of Craig's life seemed traditional: college grad (master's in engineering), four years in the Air Force (ROTC commission), self-employed, wife, kids, dogs, jogger, banjo player, political party regular.

But he doesn't just jog, he runs marathons. He doesn't just play the banjo, he plays in professional bluegrass bands. He doesn't just have dogs, he has champion show dogs. He isn't just a political party regular, he is active in many areas of the party, and he carries the Libertarian message into his business and social world. He has

written and published a book of instruction called Simplified Bluegrass Banjo. On the page just in front of the table of contents is the line "Bluegrass music will set you free!" And he wrote that libertarian-sounding message before he became a Libertarian.

Craig's dogs are achievers, too. He has several AKC registered basset hounds all of which have tracking and obedience titles. One is a grand champion in both field and show. Another has six AKC titles.

Within six months after joining the Libertarian Party, Craig was appointed Finance Director to finish the term of his predecessor and was elected to a full term in 1981. He helps moderate the CLP discussion groups which meet twice a month. He just finished leading his third series of Principles of Liberty classes. He is a member of the 1982 CLP platform committee.

Craig takes his Libertarian politics into his water rights consulting. He will be presenting a paper to a water and energy conference being put on by the American Society of Civil Engineers, the League of Women Voters, and the Society of State Governments. In his paper he will present free market solutions to water and energy problems — alien thoughts to most who will be attending the conference.

Although Craig has followed traditional social and economic paths, the foundation of his Libertarianism was laid early by his father's rugged individualism and his mother's gentle tolerance. His "salvation" at the age of twelve by a high-pressure Baptist minister started him toward a healthy disrespect for authority. By 1976 he was fed up enough with the system to boycott the polls. When he found Libertarians in 1980,

he was ready. His political philosophy today is about mid-Libertarian tending slightly toward radical. He believes in the "bottom up" course of action to prove Libertarianism in small chunks at the local level before taking on the big challenges at the national level. He believes in education before election; that it is essential that those who elect Libertarians not be surprised by what the Libertarians do in office.



Interviewer Bob Sheffield asks wrong question. Photos by John Williams

**"A RINGING CALL TO ACTION.
NO LIBERTARIAN SHOULD
BE WITHOUT THIS BOOK."**

Across the State

(Continued from Page 2)

"The power to tax is the power to violate human rights, and it must be opposed on moral grounds by all concerned for human liberty."

into his business and social world. He has

Across the State

(Continued from Page 2)

DISTRICT FOUR (Top one-third of Colorado plus Adams County)

Major issues in District Four include proposed water projects and dam sites. And there is a hotly contested hospital board election in Ft. Collins where the "avant-garde" candidate is health and family counselor Mary Moczydlowsky. Libertarian candidates are being sought for the November election.

DISTRICT FIVE (Some Denver Suburbs, East Central Plains)

The Arapahoe County Libertarians have found a permanent meeting place at last. They meet the last Wednesday of every month at 7:30 p.m. at the new Aurora Library. Last month's discussion was on Water and the Free Market; next month's topic is Privatization of Community Services.

Tax Protest Day was observed in Colorado Springs where several libertarians handed out literature at the post office.

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JOE COBB
**Project
Liberty**

"The power to tax is the power to violate human rights, and it must be opposed on moral grounds by all concerned for human liberty."

—Dick Randolph

The income tax . . . is the root of the malignant tree of Big Government. Lay the axe to that root, abolish the income tax, repeal the 16th Amendment, and the tree of tyranny will wither and die. America will take a great leap to reclaim the ideal of liberty, of ultra-minimal government, on which this country was founded."

—Murray N. Rothbard

"Joe Cobb presents compelling arguments why repeal of the 16th Amendment should be a central element — perhaps the central issue — of Libertarian campaigns in 1982 and 1984."

—David F. Nolan

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VIEWS and NOTES



RUN, Don't Walk, this Fall

It is clear that the person reading this editorial is a superior human being. That's right, we're talking about **you**. First, you are reading something, which puts you in a tiny minority that is much better informed than most. Second, you are a libertarian which means you have actually thought about the world and how it might be made better. Shouldn't you be putting all that potential to better use than whatever you are doing now? Why not run for office this fall?

Everyone who has done it reports that it is fun. Some even wax ecstatic and get all misty eyed over their experience. You'll have plenty of sources within the Party for advice and even logistical support. You can run a full time, hard hitting, aggressive effort which could win you a seat in a legislative body, or a low key effort which will get the Libertarian word out to lots of voters, or you can exert any level of effort in between.

It's easy to be a Libertarian among other Libertarians, and awkward to plunge in and try to convert non-Libertarians during coffee breaks or at cocktail parties. By declaring for office, you put yourself in a position to reach loads of people you only had wished you could have spoken to before. And you'll sharpen your Libertarianism against the whetstone of reality.

Really, contact the office about becoming a candidate, or just go do it and tell us about it later. If you ever thought any moron could do a better job than those turkeys under the Gold Dome or wherever, **YOU'RE RIGHT!** And if a moron could do a better job, think what a hell of a job you could do.

Tomorrow's War, Yesterday's Tactics

Imagine a battlefield, where:

- Where almost all radio communications are jammed by the enemy.
- Any heat producing device (i.e. airplane, helicopter, tank or truck) is completely vulnerable to cheap, hand held heat seeking missiles.
- Any radar transmitter is completely vulnerable to cheap, hand held radar seeking missiles, and,
- Any large concentration of force is an enormous temptation for the other side to strike with a nuclear weapon.

What you have imagined is a battlefield which renders unworkable most of the ironclad rules of warfare, namely:



"They decided to turn me loose and lynch my pistol."

other side to strike with a nuclear weapon.

What you have imagined is a battlefield which renders unworkable most of the ironclad rules of warfare, namely:

- a. good communications,
- b. good mobility,
- c. good knowledge of where the enemy is and what he is doing, and,
- d. concentration of forces.

Unfortunately you have also conjured up a battlefield which is entirely possible, even probable, **right now**. The reason we haven't seen such a battlefield is because no two really technologically advanced enemies have squared off for awhile.

Reagan's defense budget is too big, not only because he thinks we have to defend countries other than our own, such as Germany and Japan, but because we are building weapons which will be sitting ducks against an enemy with modern equipment.

After a few hours of modern warfare, the poor infantry grunt who is ordered to turn on any radar or heat emitting device will be committing suicide. Only a very few jam proof radios will be able to talk to each other, and any concentrations of force, such as nuclear carriers or armored spearheads, will serve mainly to attract nukes.

Perhaps the Pentagon should rethink most of the toys it is buying and building today.

Shakespeare Was Wrong

The Bard claimed that a rose by any other name would smell as sweet, yet Madison Avenue has ample evidence that the names of things greatly affect their popularity.

Libertarians must take a lesson from the ad writers. The terms "Laissez Faire," "Capitalism," and "Free Enterprise," mean the same thing, yet many people relate laissez faire and capitalism to sweat shops and belching smokestacks, and relate free enterprise to corner groceries and lemonade stands. Furthermore, capitalism during the early industrial revolution did in fact mean capital invested **with special privileges awarded by the state**. Thus Libertarians will make more headway when trying to convert muddle headed liberals or stick in the mud conservatives, if they use the term "Free Enterprise" rather than capitalism.

The same is true of the "trickle down theory." To many people it connotes a rich industrialist tossing pennies out of his limo as he cruises the slums collecting rents and evicting people. Perhaps we could try to replace it with the "gush down theory." After all where else **can** the money go?

Every dollar a rich man earns is either spent, in which case some poorer person will probably earn it, or invested, in which case some poorer person can more easily borrow it, or it is given away, again to a poorer person.

We have an immense enough job trying to convince all the blockheads of the world that statism stinks. Let's not make our job harder by using loaded terms.

"They decided to turn me loose and lynch my pistol."

(Reprinted courtesy of Bill Mauldin and the *Chicago Sun-Times*)

Membership Oath Questioned

by Ed Leeper

What is the party of liberty doing with a loyalty oath?

Whatever positive reasons there may be for the Libertarian Party membership oath against initiation of force, it is nevertheless a strange requirement in a free association of free individuals. I believe it carries a clear message to the outsider that we do not tolerate even a moderate diversity of thought within our own group — and calls into question (at least in that outsider's mind) the sincerity of our commitment to tolerate it in society as a whole.

In addition, I believe requiring the oath (or a close facsimile, in the case of the state party) causes an unfortunate reaction in those who were at all close to the anti-communist oath requirements of the fifties. Yes, an oath requirement in a voluntary organization is different. But I'm sure more than one HUAC/McCarthy supporter pointed out back then that the U.S. itself is a voluntary association. ("If you pinkos don't like our oath, you can go to Russia.") And, as one fugitive from the fifties put it, "Why on earth would anybody sign an oath he didn't have to?"

Why indeed would any survivor of that era who was anywhere near to being denied his

right to employment or foreign travel ever want to sign another oath? How can he fail to be suspicious of a party that claims to be a

The membership oath:

**I hereby certify
that I do not
believe in
or advocate
the initiation
of force as a
means of
achieving political
or social goals.**

haven of liberty, yet appears not to understand the issue of oaths controlling thought? Is our object to keep people from coming to Libertarianism from this direction? Are we just more comfortable in a party that has many more retread conservatives than retread liberals?

It is often asked why anyone should mind
(Continued on Page 12)

Editor:

RAPE. It tears at you deep within your soul. You suffer the anguish of invasion as a part of you is carried off.

On April 15th I was raped. Oh yes, "The Good Ol' Boys" will chortle and say that I was "asking for it." How easy it is for them to condone a heinous act. They pretend my participation was voluntary and that they were "doing unto me as I would want done."

I write this letter out of my shame. I feel that perhaps I should have put up more of a fight — that I gave in too easily.

I hate to say that "I was forced." It makes me feel so small. To be degraded; to have my pride, my moral ambition, torn from me disgusts me with myself.

But I submitted. On April 15, 1982, I sent a check to the bastard IRS.

D. Tyson

Center Section CONVENTION NEWS

CLP Slates Convention in Boulder, Memorial Day Weekend

by Len Jackson

The 1982 State Convention will be held in Boulder, at the Broker Inn, a hotel and restaurant just off US 36. This convention will include a little of everything: business (Constitution & By-Laws and Platform revision, nomination of candidates, election of officers); learning and thinking through exposure to various speakers and presentations; and, one of the LP's important functions, partying.

Business sessions are scheduled on Saturday from 8 a.m. to 1:30 p.m., on Sunday from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m., and on Monday from 8:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. Reports from the Constitution & By-Laws and Platform Committees are included in this issue of the *Liberty*, and copies of the committee reports are printed in this issue. As many of you know, business goes much more smoothly if these reports have been at least scanned before discussion begins. There are some substantive changes in both the Constitution and the Platform of which members should be aware.

An important part of any Convention is the opportunities it offers to participants to attain new knowledge. This convention will present several such opportunities in the

form of two groups of presentations. The first, on Saturday afternoon, will include LP notable Stormy Mon, whose topic will be "Diversified Unity; Ten Ways to Cut Government in Half." Biz Kajunju, a leader of the anti-government underground in Zaire, will speak on the "Cleptocratic" dictatorship in his native country. This presentation is sure to infuriate others as much as it did the CU Libertarians/Objectivists. Biz details how the dictator of Zaire attained power and how he keeps it with — you guessed it — American help.

The second group of presentations, on Sunday night, has an anti-militarist theme. The Fran & Charley Show, a comedy team from San Francisco, will highlight the evening by performing what they term "nuclear comedy." Their idea is that people can open up more to combat the threat of nuclear annihilation if the process is begun with humor. When I heard them earlier this year in Boulder, they were profound, and poignant — and very funny.

As everyone knows, partying is one of the attractions of any gathering, so we're planning two parties, just to be sure that everyone is satisfied. The first, a reception by the Boulder County Libertarians'

Association, is on Friday night. This will be a chance to relax, get acquainted, start discussing the issues that will come up, and generally have a good time.



National Chair, Alicia Clark,
to keynote convention.

The big party is on Saturday night. It introduces an element that the LP hasn't given much thought to in the past:

and lots of conversation. The Broker's upstairs bar (The Gazebo Lounge) has to be seen to be believed — it's full of out of the way corners and comfortable places. This year, we've expanded the costume idea — you can come as anyone else (not necessarily a Libertarian) or dressed as you would in Vegas or Monte Carlo (which means, dress anyway you want). Don't stay away because you hate dressing up — there'll be people attending in all varieties of dress. There may even be prizes for costumes (or non-costumes).

Another part of the available entertainment will be the movies offered. Each one will be run at last twice, so that everyone will be able to see them. We've scheduled *The Children's Story*, about indoctrination by a teacher; *Sacco & Vanzetti*, the story of the trial of two anarchists condemned for their politics; *THX 1138*, about a totally regimented world and an attempt to escape it; and, finally, *The Fountainhead*, from the book by Ayn Rand.

The cost in individual events (subject to change), is: each movie - \$2; each speaker (no charge for keynote speaker, Alicia Clark) - \$4; Saturday Night Party (no "funny money" included, charge extra) - \$6.50; "The Threat of War; the Hope of Peace" (Sunday Evening) - \$5; and Friday evening reception - \$5. An activities package on the other hand, is only \$50. It includes admission to all events, and "funny money" to use

Report of the 1982

Report of the 1982 Colorado Platform Committee

Curtis W. Shortridge, Chairman
Janice Prince
Bob Sheffield
Attilio Catanzano
Jarry Van Sickle
Patrick L. Lilly
Peter L. Nelson
Craig Green
Bruce Lockhart
Vicki Frankenfield
Paul Bilzi
Patricia Donohue Shortridge, Secretary

(Note: Planks are reported in the revised order voted on by the Platform Committee. Italicized words denote additions, parenthesis denotes deletions. "Majority Plank" indicates the section passed by a majority of the committee.)

INTRODUCTION

Majority Plank — New Plank

We affirm the right of all individuals to live their own lives in whatever manner they choose subject to the equal right of others. No person or group should initiate force against peaceful individuals or take their justly earned property. No government, no majority or its representative; no legislation or government bureaucrat should abridge these rights of the individual.

All goods and services can and should be earned and traded voluntarily in a truly free market — including those services now monopolized and regulated by government. Advocates of any program or product should persuade users, not elected officials with the power to impose their will on those who do not agree with them.

Continuing reduction of taxes and regulations, toward their eventual elimination, should accompany the return of government services to the private competitive marketplace. This will result in the expansion of freedom, creativity, flexibility and productivity. Individual effort will be

rewarded and natural resources treasured, in relation to scarcity and value to others.

TAXES

Majority Plank

All taxation is a (flagrant) violation of the fundamental right of individuals to keep the fruits of their labor. We, therefore oppose all forcible collection of money or goods by government and call for the disbanding of all enforcement agencies associated with tax collection.

As an interim measure, we support mandatory tax reductions *and oppose any new tax or tax increase.*

GOVERNMENT SPENDING

No changes from last year.

PUBLIC SERVICES

Unanimous Plank — Substitution

We oppose governmental ownership and operation of any so-called public services such as water and sewer, transportation, fire protection, trash collection and health care.

We favor the immediate public auction of all such services now owned or operated by government to the private sector including voluntary charitable organizations. We also advocate immediate elimination of any government restriction on competition for such services.

The transfer of such services to the private sector does not include any present governmental authority to violate individual rights.

COST SHARING

Majority Plank — New Plank

We oppose the control of state and local activities by the federal government through cost sharing. We propose that the state and local governments and any other agencies refuse to participate and refuse any and all distributions of federal funds.

We oppose any increase in state and local taxes to replace federal funds.

introduces an element that the LP hasn't given much thought to in the past: gambling. Since the State won't let us gamble with (or win) real money (isn't that a laugh? We *have* to use their funny money), we'll be trying for prizes, instead. Some of the things that have been donated so far are an original watercolor by a Boulder artist, music lessons, dinners (at private homes and at restaurants) and photographs.

For those of you that might not be interested in gambling, there will be a cash bar

other hand, is only \$50. It includes admission to all events, and "funny money" to use at the Casino Night.

The hotel manager has given us a deal on rooms: singles are now the same price as doubles, \$37. Get your reservations in early, to be sure of a room.

If you have any questions about the Convention, please give Len Jackson a call at 665-3413, in the evenings.

See you there!

GOVERNMENT LICENSING AND REGULATION

Majority Plank

We advocate repeal of all laws creating and protecting government-sanctioned monopolies, and demand an end to all licensing requirements and regulatory activities because they interfere with the individual's right to enter into voluntary contractual arrangements.

In Colorado, this includes abolishing the Public Utilities Commission, eliminating the monopoly status of Mountain Bell and the Public Service Company, and allowing unregulated access to local broadcasting by cable, satellite and pay television companies. *We condemn the granting of cable television franchises in Colorado.*

We also advocate elimination of the 55 mph speed limit, all vehicular inspection requirements and licensing, and licensing of drivers.

We believe that health, safety and consumer protection can be effectively assured (We believe that public safety can be more effectively assured) through a strict application of liability laws.

JUSTICE FOR THE INDIVIDUAL

Majority Plank — Replacement Plank

Justice for the individual will be achieved within systems for enforcing rights and obligations. Court systems are meant to provide non-violent means of settling disputes among individuals, as well as requiring restitution from those who violate rights. Thus, we support the free development of legal systems that further the rights of the individual while providing forums where disputes can be settled.

Currently, criminal law is based on punishment with little concern for the victim. The present system of "criminal

justice" does not provide justice because crime is currently defined as unlawful acts against the state, rather than unjustified acts against the lives, property and rights of specific individuals. Restitution to victims must be emphasized at the expense of convicted wrongdoers. We do not approve of the existing state Victims Compensation Fund which socializes restitution rather than providing for specific restitution from specific wrongdoers to specific victims.

We call for the repeal of all victimless "crime" laws, since they are no more than one group's imposition of its moral standards upon the voluntary action of individuals. We favor unconditional pardon of persons convicted of or detained for victimless "crimes".

In particular, we condemn continuing Colorado legislative attempts to control or eliminate obscenity, pornography, massage parlors, escort services and use of any chemical substances and drug paraphernalia.

We advocate an immediate end to the doctrine of "Sovereign Immunity" which implies that the State can do no wrong and holds that the State, contrary to the tradition of our common law, may not be sued without its permission or be held accountable for its actions in civil suits.

INDIVIDUALS IN GOVERNMENT

Majority Plank

Present laws limit both the civil and criminal liability of government officials and employees for violations of individual rights. Therefore, government officials and employees should be held strictly and personally responsible for their actions.

(We favor voluntary means of financial support, instead of tax-financed salaries, for

(Continued on Page 7)

FRIDAY MAY 28	SATURDAY MAY 29	SUNDAY MAY 30	MONDAY MAY 31	
				8 a.m.
	Convention Rules		Nomination of Candidates	
	Keynote			9 a.m.
		Platform Debate		
	Constitution and By-Laws Debate			10 a.m.
			Election of Officers	
				11 a.m.
	"The Fountainhead"			12 p.m.
		"Incredible Bread Machine"		
	Constitution and By-Laws Debate	Candidates' Forum "THX 1138"		1 p.m.
	Colorado Issues Panel "Childrens Story"	Platform Debate		2 p.m.
	"Incredible Bread Machine"			
	Biz Kajunju			3 p.m.

	Biz Kajunju "THX 1138"	"Childrens Story"	3 p.m.
		"Sacco & Vanzetti"	
	Stormy Mon		4 p.m.
	Immigrants Panel "Childrens Story"		5 p.m.
	"Sacco & Vanzetti"	"Incredible Bread Machine"	
Registration Opens			6 p.m.
BCLA Reception Intro to Libertarianism	Party		7 p.m.
"The Fountainhead"		The Threat of War: The Hope of Peace	
10:00 "The Fountainhead"	10:00 "THX 1138"		

Convention Help Needed, No Pay, But Everybody Smiles Alot

People make a convention work, and in a volunteer organization like ours, we can't pay much but our undying gratitude. So far, *Tracy Harms* and *Pat Herringer* have done a huge amount of work — but they can't do everything. I still need help both before and during the Convention.

Before it happens, I need people to work on the program book (selling ads and layout) and to donate prizes for the Casino Night. If you sell a service, how about donating an hour of your time? If you sell a

product or have a hobby, think about donating a sample. If there's anyone who can letter signs, I'd be willing to make you a great deal.

At the Convention, I'll need people to run movie projectors, help with registration, and act as dealers for the Casino Night. Experience won't be necessary for any of these jobs — just enthusiasm.

If you're interested in working at the Convention and helping to make it a success, please let me know. Thanks, Len Jackson.

Free Market Space Still Available

The Hotel will provide 3' by 8' tables, exhibitors provide their own signs and security.

Price for two days is \$25.

Of course, you can share a table and split the cost.

Are You Close To Boulder And Willing To Provide Housing?

To keep our costs down we're trying to find housing for the three members of the Fran & Charley Comedy team. Please let Len know if you're interested.

Colorado Platform Committee*(Continued from Page 5)*

candidates elected to public office and oppose all laws restricting such voluntary financing.)

POLICE POWERS**Unanimous Plank**

We favor drastic reductions in the discretion currently accorded to police and other government officials to take threatening or violent action against others on whim and with impunity. In particular, the virtually complete immunity from criminal prosecution for acts such as theft, breaking and entering, false arrest [kidnapping], strip searches and the like committed against innocent people, which police officers enjoy, must be changed. We specifically repudiate the doctrine that anyone's suspicions or belief, whether or not held in good faith, constitute an entitlement to take violent action against others, unless supported by demonstrable facts.

We particularly condemn the use by various Colorado public agencies of entrapment techniques; such as the use of decoy prostitutes and the placement of undercover agents in high schools. These practices violate basic individual rights, and often result in a high degree of danger to the general population.

EQUAL RIGHTS**Unanimous with Abstentions**

We deny the right of government to discriminate on the basis of sex, race, color, creed, age, national origin, disabilities, sexual or political preference. Nonetheless, we oppose legislative or judicial attempts to regulate discrimination in private relations and transactions.

Individual and cooperative efforts, not government coercion are the only just solutions to the problem of "equal rights". No human need, no matter how legitimate, justifies the initiation of force through taxation. (We particularly deplore the oppression of handicapped persons by government through token social programs, the government-medical complex, mandated architectural changes or any laws which institutionalize discrimination.)

RIGHT TO PRIVACY

No change from last year.

ELECTION LAWS*(Unanimous Plank)*

shale development, surface mining and toxic waste disposal.

WATER**Unanimous Plank**

We favor the recognition of private rights to ownership of water. Any residual claims of the State to water or its use should be returned to private ownership.

As an interim measure, we advocate water user fees to finance the administration of water rights and water courts, rather than taxation. (for all Colorado residents so that water becomes subject to the same supply and demand factors as other resources and commodities, except where individual water rights presently are being exercised.)

Public utility monopolies in the area of water storage, distribution and use must also be abolished and water as a resource returned to its proper place as a privately owned commodity in a free market.

We call for the termination of the monopoly held by the Denver Water Board and similar local government agencies elsewhere in Colorado.

Since government uses tax money to finance water projects, we urge termination of such subsidized engineering jobs in Colorado as federally funded water projects, mine drainage abatement and the Foothills Water Treatment Facility.

In addition, we oppose the exercise of federal reserve rights and interstate compacts to the detriment of any Colorado water right. To the extent that downstream water users claim the right to Colorado water, disputes should be settled through stipulation, arbitration, or litigation.

(We oppose manipulation of the environment by the State and call for an immediate end to taxpayer-financed weather modification experiments and programs.)

PUBLIC LANDS AND LAND USE**Unanimous Plank**

Land use planning is properly the responsibility and right of land (the) owners. (of the land.) We oppose government ownership of land, and laws that restrict the right of private property owners to use, dispose of and covenant with regard to their property as they see fit. We advocate private operation of parks and preservation of wilderness through privately owned conservancies.

With respect to private property, we urge an end to government control of land use through such devices as zoning laws, building codes, eminent domain, regional planning, growth control and urban renewal. We insist that real costs of new development be borne by the developer or the purchasers, rather than by (all) taxpayers. (within that municipality.)

TRANSPORTATION**Unanimous Plank — Substitute Plank**

Government attempts to provide transportation services interfere with voluntary exchange and promote costly and inefficient transportation systems. A free market in transportation will provide a diverse selection of alternatives, and, in all probability, increased employment opportunities.

To achieve this, we favor the repeal of laws prohibiting the operation of private transportation systems. Specifically, we call for the elimination of the monopoly granted to the Regional Transportation District, the licensing of taxicabs, trucking companies and chauffeurs.

We favor a freeze on further expenditure of taxpayers' money for new roads and highways, and the conversion to private ownership of existing government facilities.

GUN CONTROL

No change from last year.

UNIONS AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING**Unanimous Plank**

We support the individual's unrestricted right to free contract and voluntary association including participation or non-participation in a labor union — and oppose the use of government as a tool or weapon in labor relations.

We insist that a difference exists between private employers and government entities as employers. Accordingly, we deny the right of any government agency to accept any labor union as an exclusive representative for its employees.

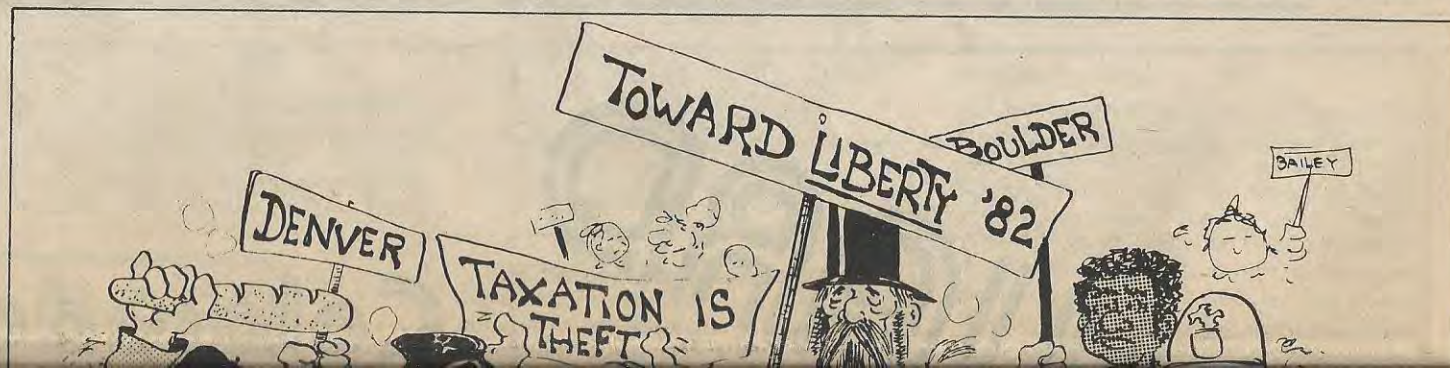
FREE MARKET ZONES**Unanimous Plank**

As a (transition) step toward (establishing a) universal free markets, we favor the establishment of free market zones, i.e., areas in which all federal, state, and local regulations, taxes, services and subsidies (would be) are permanently eliminated. We support the right of individuals in any geographic area to establish free market zones.

We are however, opposed to "Enterprise Zones" by which governments manipulate investment with artificial and temporary incentives to achieve political ends.

UNDOCUMENTED ALIENS**Unanimous Plank**

People should be allowed to immigrate to the United States and move to any state for political, economic, or any other reasons. Accordingly, we condemn any and all round-ups of individuals not possessing required government documents as restrictions on



ELECTION LAWS

Unanimous Plank

We favor greatly increased access to the ballot for initiated issues, referenda, political parties and independent candidates. We oppose all attempts to limit access to the general election ballot for independent candidates or candidates of small political parties. *We deny the right of the state government to define what constitutes a political party or to dictate how political parties must operate.* We further oppose the current merging of the business of the Democratic and Republican parties into the area of governmental action, and call for an end of the "open primary" system, under which parties recognized by the State are required to accept any and all voters into their ranks in return for the State's running of their candidate selection process.

We oppose any attempt to restrict the voluntary financing of campaigns or the range of choices available to voters in a general election.

So that voters may express dissatisfaction with the political system, "None of the Above" should appear as a choice in every election. If "None of the Above" wins a plurality, the office for that term would remain unfilled and unfunded.

ENVIRONMENT

Unanimous Plank

The present system of regulation fails to prevent the deterioration of our environment, wastes tax dollars, and arbitrarily (limits) *violates* individual rights. Regulations are misleading, since they permit the government to establish arbitrary "tolerable" levels of pollution.

We advocate the development of an objective system to establish individual property rights to air, water and other natural resources. Present legal principles which provide for the preservation of individual rights through the institution of civil actions should be expanded so that the principles of trespass, nuisance and negligence fully protect individual rights regarding damage done to air or water, or by noise, chemical or radiation pollution.

This would create incentives for development of less polluting, and therefore, less costly, technologies. Holding polluters fully responsible for their actions would also promote much more careful handling of problems important to Colorado such as oil



ENERGY

Unanimous Plank

We advocate a free market in energy production and consumption. (We demand that all government interference within the energy market be eliminated, as such interference)

Government interference with the energy market is the primary cause of the so-called energy crisis. Only through a free market in energy can we encourage a rational use of resources, conservation through the pricing system and development of alternative energy sources.

Therefore, we favor decontrol of prices, and deregulation of allocation, distribution and production. We advocate the abolition of all government attempts to develop or restrict [by eminent domain, subsidies, or otherwise] energy production or consumption.

Specifically, we call for an immediate end to government financed oil shale and syn-fuels projects, and the Solar Energy Research Institute. We also demand the removal of all roadblocks to energy development, such as the mineral severance taxes, and we demand the transfer of all government held mineral rights and lands to private hands.

EDUCATION

Unanimous Plank

We advocate separation of education and the State. Government schools interfere with the free choice of individuals and severely limit educational alternatives and progress. The proper solution to our educational ills is a free market in education so that individuals can choose the manner [and the language] in which they will be educated.

We advocate public auction of all educational facilities now owned and operated by government to the private sector including voluntary charitable organizations. As interim measures, we support tax credits for tuition and other educational expenses, with no restrictions placed on the manner of their use, and repeal of taxes levied against private schools.

We call for elimination within the state education system of forced busing, forcible administration of drugs, corporal punishment and compulsory education laws. Requirements of a state license or other certification to offer educational services must also be ended.

ABORTION

No change from last year.

the fundamental freedom to work and move about unmolested.

State support of national policies restricting immigration, such as attempts to keep Cubans and Asians out of Colorado, should be withdrawn.

However, we oppose tax-financed welfare and transfer payments to aliens just as we oppose them in general.

MILITARY INSTALLATIONS

Majority Plank — New Plank

Violations to individual human rights by the government routinely occur as a result of the operation of military installations in Colorado. Accordingly, we oppose any current plan to deploy MX missiles in Colorado, and support the closure of the Rocky Mountain Arsenal and Rocky Flats nuclear facility. We also oppose the condemnation of private land for the expansion of military installations such as Fort Carson.

SAFETY CLAUSE

Unanimous Plank — New Plank

We adamantly oppose the routine attachment of a "Safety Clause" to every bill approved by the legislature in order to limit or circumvent the ability of the courts or the electorate to review or reject improper or unconstitutional bills.

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

No change from last year.

Constitution and By-Laws Committee Report

The 1982 Constitution and By-Laws Committee met and approved proposed changes to the Constitution and By-Laws of the Colorado Libertarian Party. The members of the committee chaired by Charles Jackson were: Ruth Bennett, Suzanne Canlon, Tracy Harms, and Dave Tyson. The committee report is printed below in its entirety.

Report of the 1982 Constitution and By-Laws Committee, Charles Jackson, Chair

The following changes were passed unanimously in committee:

Global change: Whenever 'national Libertarian Party' appears, capitalize 'n' in the word 'national.'

Constitution: Article II

Interchange items b and c. Replace ', and' with '.' in item b. Replace '.' with ', and' in item c.

Article IV, Section 2

Strike last two sentences.

Article V, Section 1

Replace 'one District Representative from each U.S. Congressional District' with 'four at-large members.'

Article V, Section 2

Replace entire section with 'At-large members shall be elected by a majority of Party members at the Annual Convention. Nominations for at-large Board positions

shall be received from the floor. Members may nominate themselves.

'Each member registered and in attendance at the convention may cast a single vote for the at-large candidate of his or her choice. The total votes cast by each Party member shall not exceed four. The highest vote totals shall be elected.

'The powers and duties of the at-large members shall be as specified herein and in the Party By-Laws.'

Article V, Section 3

Renumber to Section 4.

Article V, Section 3

Insert new section to read, 'Any member of the Board of Directors may be suspended by vote of two-thirds of the current Board of Directors. Any member of the Board of Directors absent from two meetings of the Board shall be automatically suspended at adjournment of the second meeting. The Board of Directors may, by a two-thirds vote of the current members, appoint or reinstate officers or at-large members if vacancies or Suspensions occur, such members to serve until the next Convention.'

Article VI, Section 2

Replace 'elected' with 'elective' and strike 'and U.S. Senator.'

Article VI, Section 3

Replace 'Libertarian Party national' with 'National Libertarian Party.'

Article VII, Section 1

Replace 'a committee designated thereby' with 'the Board of Directors.'

Article VII, Section 4

Strike 'or' and add ', or by the Board of Directors' at the end of the sentence.

Article VIII, Section 3

Strike 'District Representative and'.

By-Laws:

Article I, Section 2

Strike 'each affiliate shall select its representative in a manner consistent with that affiliate's governing documents.'

Article II, Title

Replace 'OFFICERS' with 'THE BOARD'.

Article II, Section 6

Renumber to Section 7.

Article II, Section 6 (New)

Insert 'The duties of the at-large members shall be as follows:

- a) to organize and coordinate affiliates, and
- b) to work with the Directors in establishing efficient committee structures for fulfilling the Directors duties.'

Article III, Section 3

Strike.

Article III, Section 4

Strike.

Article VI, Section 7

Insert 'and alternates' between 'Representatives' and 'to'.

Strike item a and b and insert 'If the number of representatives to National Libertarian Party Committees is known at

the time of the Party Convention and the committees are to convene after the Convention, the Convention shall elect representatives and alternates in the same manner and immediately after the election of at-large national convention delegates; otherwise the Board of Directors at a regular meeting at least one month prior to the National Libertarian Party deadline, shall elect the committee representatives and alternates by majority vote.'

The following changes were approved by a majority of the members of the committee:

Constitution:

Article VIII, Section 2

Insert 'annually' at the end of the sentence.

By-Laws:

Article I, Section 1

Insert '.' after 'Principles' and replace 'and' with 'The petition and the ratification'.

The following change failed to receive a majority vote and was submitted by Ruth Bennett as a minority report:

Article VIII, Section 1

Insert new paragraph 3, 'In order to vote at Convention a person must be a member of the Party at least 30 days prior to Convention.'

Respectfully submitted,

Charles Jackson
Ruth Bennett
Suzanne Canlon
Tracy Harms
Dave Tyson

WARD

Colorado

TOWH
LIBERTY
'82

Colorado
Libertarian
Party
Convention

STOMP STATISM

**A lot of you reading this are not party members.
Do you believe in freedom? Do you want to help
us achieve freedom? Become one of us and help
yourself and others to be free.
Join the Party!**

The Colorado Libertarian Party is on the move! But in order to keep growing, we need *your* help. Please fill out the form below, and return it to the Colorado LP, Box 1557, Denver 80201. Or phone the party headquarters, 573-5229. \$25/year includes a free subscription to the *Colorado Liberty*.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

HOME PHONE _____ WORK PHONE _____

Repeal the Income Tax, Root of Big Government!

by Murray N. Rothbard

Most Americans have come to the basic libertarian insight that the federal government — the major embodiment of the State in the U.S. — has grown monstrously large. Throughout the land, we hear the cry that government "get off our back." Yet the government's swollen budgets expand at a rapid rate, regardless of party or of the rhetoric of each Administration. Its ever-growing number of bureaucrats foist petty and great tyrannies upon us, even as they eat out our substance. The government is everywhere: controlling, regulating, cartelizing, subsidizing, repressing, spying, and outlawing. In the name of "defense," the government is registering young men, probably will soon be drafting them, and is feverishly building up fearsome weapons of mass destruction that could easily destroy the human race. This military might is being used to intervene everywhere around the world, as the U.S. attempts to mold every other nation in its own image. Government is piling up ever higher deficits, which crowd out private investment, cripple productivity and economic growth, and channel the savings of the public into wasteful government boondoggles.

How then can we do it? How can we get rid of Big Government?

It is all too clear how *not* to do it: urging piddling piecemeal cuts of individual budget items. Let the Office for the Study of the Sex Life of the Moth be cut by 5 percent, and TV is bombarded with images of weeping bureaucrats, scientists, and moths — all warning that the pursuit of knowledge, national security, and the moth population will all vanish if the cut is not restored.

No, the way to get rid of Big Government is to *cut off its water*: to slash drastically at its source, and let the bureaucrats rearrange whatever trickle might remain. And that water rests on one mighty and crucial source: the justly and widely hated income tax. The income tax, personal, corporate, and social security (which, of course, acts like an income tax and is in no sense "insurance") amounted in fiscal 1980 to over 90 percent of federal government revenue.

The income tax is not a permanent part of the American heritage; it was imposed during the Civil War, declared unconsti-

groups, because with the withholding provision revenues can be extracted smoothly, and because it alone of all taxes imposes a fearsome and runaway Inquisition over all aspects of our lives, our incomes and our spending.

The IRS has virtually unlimited power to inspect, spy and snoop — to tell us how much we are forced to pay, and to require us to keep the records and fill out the forms to

smooth the path for our own pockets to be picked. While all taxation is theft, no taxation permits such absolute despotism over us all as the income tax.

The income tax, then, is the root of the malignant tree of Big Government. Lay the axe to that root, abolish the income tax, repeal the 16th Amendment, and the tree of tyranny will wither and die. America will take a great leap to reclaim the ideal of

liberty, of ultra-minimal government, on which this country was founded.

Note: The Libertarian Party's national platform specifically calls for repeal of the 16th Amendment; to date, nine state legislatures have petitioned Congress to initiate the repeal process. Information on the repeal effort is available from Project Liberty, 1041 Cherokee Street, Denver, CO 80204.

Guns, Speed Limits and the Limits of Government

by Patrick Bedard

I don't have a gun. But I've been thinking of getting one. Not that there's anything — or anybody — that I'm looking to shoot. I see owning a gun as more of a symbolic gesture, a personal don't-tread-on-me statement very much along the lines of what early Americans were saying when they put that rattlesnake on a flag. There are limits beyond which I will not be pushed. And the more I hear of ban-the-gun legislation forming in Washington, and the more I hear it advocated from the editorial pulpit of the *New York Times*, the more I want my own .45 automatic holstered within easy reach of this typewriter. When those who would run the country want to take away honest citizens' guns, it's clear that their vision of America is very different from mine. An armed citizenry is one way of keeping their vision from becoming *too* different.

Early in January, the National Rifle Association ran an ad in major newspapers citing reasons Americans could never be squashed the way the Polish people have been. We have the Constitution. It mandates freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and free elections. And, finally, to the NRA's central point, we have the freedom to bear arms. The will of the citizens to resist has no teeth in it when there is not the *means* to resist. What guns there were in Poland were registered. Which means, as far as resistance is concerned, that there were no guns. When the time comes, the police knock on your door at night. They have your registration. They take your guns. You are completely under the control of the state.

AK47s couldn't stop the B-52s either. But we all know they did.

The real reason the gun controllers reject this resistance-against-a-marauding-government argument, I think, is that they simply can't conceive of our government ever running amok. Sure, it happens in Hungary and Czechoslovakia and Poland and Libya and Chile and Nicaragua and Guatemala and El Salvador. But it could never happen here. Americans are all such nice guys. We'd never gang up and go on a repression spree.

Our forefathers harbored no such naive views. It was their opinion, based on considerable experience, that a government would pretty much do whatever it could get by with. And their response was to write a

Big Brother doesn't mess with those he can't mess with.

Constitution for the fledgling United States that spelled out exactly what was expected of their new government and how it should go about the job. Then, in the first session of Congress, fearing that they still hadn't tied the beast down, they drafted the Bill of Rights, a document based on pure cynicism about government. It is very plainly a list of freedoms that could not be infringed upon, actions the government is prohibited from taking, just to make sure the point wasn't missed in the original Constitution. Nothing was left to the discretion of nice guys.

We should go back and read these docu-

have designs upon our rights in some other way. Let me give you an example.

We all know how important the 55-mph speed limit has been to certain sections of our government. The enforcement of that red herring has become the sole reason for some bureaucrats' existence. During the Carter administration, a number of methods were examined. One of them was called the automated speed-enforcement device (ASED). This is an unmanned gadget that sits beside the road and measures the speed of every vehicle that comes along. If the speed is above the limit, a camera photographs the car and records date, time, and speed. A ticket is then sent to the owner.

This piece of equipment has tremendous appeal to the government. A few guys down in Washington have decided that this country would be a better place to live if nobody drove faster than 55 mph. This is not a particularly popular law, as the police have found from all the heat they take in trying to enforce it. But the ASED takes the heat off police; let the drivers yell at the gadget. Moreover, there would be a terrific cost saving: all those troopers wouldn't have to be paid to go out and nab speeders. All those troopers wouldn't have to be paid to go out and appear as prosecution witnesses in court, either, because the photo would be the evidence. What a wonderful device. Sprinkle enough ASEDS along our highways and Washington could have us in step with the master plan in no time at all.

Only one thing wrong. Anybody who was awake in seventh-grade civics should know that such a scheme is in screaming violation of the Fourth Amendment. And if the

90 percent of federal government revenue. The income tax is not a permanent part of the American heritage; it was imposed during the Civil War, declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, and then enshrined in the 16th Amendment in 1913. The income tax has become particularly beloved by the federal government because its rates can be adjusted to soak different

terms of the police knock on your door at night. They have your registration. They take your guns. You are completely under the control of the state.

This rationale produces much scoffing among gun-control advocates. You can't stop a tank with a handgun, they say. But that same logic would hold that a bunch of pajama-clad VC with booby traps and

taking, just to make sure the point wasn't missed in the original Constitution. Nothing was left to the discretion of nice guys.

We should go back and read these documents occasionally, just for the warning that is implicit in their language. Ours may be one of the few continents without tanks rumbling through the streets, but that doesn't mean that the government doesn't

Only one thing wrong. Anybody who was awake in seventh-grade civics should know that such a scheme is in screaming violation of the Fourth Amendment. And if the functionaries in Washington were the nice guys we numbly give them credit for being, they would have said, "Yeah, great, but no way we can do that," and pitched the ASED

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Protectionism Exposed

by Sheldon Richman

Perhaps the most ominous of the dark clouds gathering over Washington these days are the clouds of protectionism. This seems to illustrate a recurring phenomenon, namely, that economic fallacies don't fade away, they merely wait in the wings until a major industry gets into trouble or until a recession hits. Then they are trotted out *en masse* to justify all sorts of statist measures.

Protectionist sentiment is undeniably on the ascendency. Leading the chorus are Ford Motor Co., Chrysler Co., the United Auto Workers and U.S. Steel. But there are less publicized voices: SCM Corporation has convinced the International Trade Commission of the danger of foreign typewriters; color-television producers have done the same regarding their foreign competitors. No doubt there are many others.

For the record, U.S. producers have been on the receiving end as well. Some European governments and businesses have complained about American chemical and synthetic-fiber exports. They accuse American firms of "dumping" (a term we'll discuss shortly) these goods because the firms cut costs by using cheaper, price-controlled petroleum as raw materials.

With bitter accusations being hurled between the U.S. and Europe and from the U.S. to Japan, a trade war is clearly possible. As *The Economist* of London recently put it, "These disputes now threaten to turn nasty at just the wrong moment, as recession hits both sides of the Atlantic."

This issue is a jumble of confusion, thanks to mainstream economists and dilettantes who blather about dumping, balance of payments, economic warfare and other buncombe. The root of the problem is methodological collectivism and nationalism. People think of world trade in

terms of nations. It is as if world trade were the Olympics, and only one nation can finish first in any contest. The false game analogy explains another common concern: The neo-mercantilists frequently assert that fair competition means that everyone competes under identical conditions — the same wage level, the same government policies, etc. I shall show that these things have nothing to do with fair competition and are merely justifications for intervention at home.

As we'll see, all of these fallacies dissolve when we keep in mind that trade occurs between individuals, not nations.

People think of world trade in terms of nations. It is as if world trade were the Olympics, and only one nation can finish first in any contest.

The broadest and oldest fallacy is that imports undermine our economy and that exports buttress it — it was thoroughly exploded at least 200 years ago. If we look at trade as occurring between individuals, we see the nonsense of this old saw. When an American chooses to buy a foreign-made product, he or she does so either because it is cheaper than the American version, or it is better, or there is no American version. In any case, the purchaser is demonstrably better off for buying the foreign product. (Of course, purchasers make mistakes that are realized after the fact, but they only engage in exchange in the expectation of becoming better off.)

It is true, of course, that sellers of the



Gary and Jan Coen demonstrate their commitment to freedom wherever they go. How about you? At least get a Libertarian bumper sticker. Contact the office.

Photo by John Williams

domestic variety are not as well off as they would have been had the buyer patronized one of them. But the same would be true for most of them had he or she bought the product from one of their American competitors. Only one firm could have made the sale. But no one would say that the economy was undermined as a result. What is the difference?

The difference is that with imports, *foreign* sellers are involved. And all that means is that the transaction crossed an arbitrary political boundary, a line on a map. But that only matters if you look at nations as "teams" and the economic system as a zero-sum game (for every winner there is at least one loser), rather than as a means to increased well-being in which trade leaves all transacting parties better off.

Nobody, in his or her role as a consumer, believes imports are bad. (When U.S. Steel recently needed to *buy* steel, it turned to Japanese companies.) Intuitively, most

people realize that what counts are products, not money, not even jobs. They are means. The end is a desired good or service. Conventional economics holds that exports are beneficial, imports detrimental. This is like saying that for an individual, only selling is beneficial while buying is detrimental.

Obviously, something is amiss. Why would anyone sell if he or she didn't intend to buy? What confuses most thinking here is money. In barter, selling is buying. If international trade were conducted by barter, none of these fallacies would arise. But international trade would be severely limited, if not impossible, were we confined to barter.

So let's talk about money. Money brings about indirect barter. As a common medium of exchange, money facilitates trade between individuals who otherwise couldn't trade with each other. If Jones has

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Free Libertarian Seminar Offered

by Craig Green

Ever since I joined the Libertarian Party two years ago, I have struggled with the potential for the corruption of libertarians who get elected to public office. I know that many party members share this concern, especially those who adamantly refuse to compromise principle to get a candidate elected. However, it seems to me that most party members feel that candidates *can* get elected and work at achieving liberty without compromising libertarian principles. Not all libertarians share this view.

Many libertarians are actively contributing to our mutual goal of achieving a free society through educational activities outside the Party itself. One such individual is a recent acquaintance of mine, Bob Richardson. I met Bob during the last "Principles of Liberty" course, in which he was a vigorous participant. It was refreshing to speak to a man who had long ago discovered radical libertarian principles and has been working independently to educate non-libertarians.

Bob has written a book, entitled, *Liberty Island*, in which a libertarian society is described. On his island, there are no absolute laws as such, but there are rules of social behavior enforced by boycott, ostracism and other voluntary means. The "truth center," a private organization which charges a fee for its services, keeps records of reliable and unreliable employees, as well as businesses. The book discusses some ways a libertarian society might deal with such topics as racism, theft, murder, speed limits and many others. The island even has a government of sorts, although it is non-coercive and is supported entirely by voluntary contributions.

Bob's approach to liberty is very appealing. He contends that people "like to be liked" by their very nature, but are tricked into acting immorally or aggressively

Guns, Speed Limits

(Continued from Page 9)

idea into the shredder, where it belongs.

But that's not what happened. Instead, Jimmuh Carter's NHTSA anted up a chunk of taxpayer money and hired Mathematica Policy Research, Inc., of Princeton, New Jersey, to do a comprehensive public-opinion survey to see if the citizenry would swallow this thing. This was no low-budget deal either. It was a three-part study including nineteen focus groups in five states, 1500 individual interviews, and interviews in ten states with special-interest groups such as highway patrols, bar associations, trucking associations, etc. The government wanted to know exactly how much resistance to expect.

Too much, the report concluded, citing 53 percent of drivers who felt that the ASED was an invasion of privacy. There was some caviling over the likelihood that the drivers who objected are probably the same ones who drive too fast and therefore shouldn't be weighted so heavily, but the conclusion, generally, was that the American public isn't ready for this sort of surveillance yet.

So much for the nice-guy theory. The first sign we have of our government overstepping its bounds will not be tanks on Main Street. It will be — and is — when Big Brother knowingly violates the Constitution. And when you see a department of the executive branch toying with the idea — spending your money to see if it could smoke such a violation past us — we certainly have conspiracy and, I think, cause

Movie Review Missing

by Bob Sheffield

Charlie Horman is missing. His wife Beth is relieved he's missing. She expected to find him dead, conditions being what they are in Santiago after the ouster of Chile's President Allende.

Charlie's father Ed, after spending the first couple of weeks after Charlie's disappearance winding through murky bureaucracies in New York and Washington, flies to Santiago to look for Charlie himself. The first thing he asks Beth is what Charlie did to get himself in trouble with the authorities.

for alarm.

The Fourth Amendment prohibits searches and seizures, without "probable cause." That's what keeps the government from arbitrarily tapping your telephone or searching your house. If it thinks you're doing something illegal, it must have sufficient evidence to persuade a judge to issue a warrant based on probable cause — you're probably acting unlawfully — before it can search your "persons, houses, papers, and effects" for further evidence. Driving down the highway is not probable cause that you're speeding. Measuring your speed without probable cause is an unwarranted search, and obtaining that speed is a seizure. Police radar sneaks by this requirement because, supposedly, the officer first

observes you to be speeding and uses the radar only as corroborating evidence. At least that's the ruse used in court to satisfy the Fourth Amendment. But the ASED drops all pretense of acting on probable cause. It's the Gestapo swarming in out of the blue to enforce the speed limit.

It's significant that the ASED was put aside not because it was unconstitutional but because the government preceived that it couldn't get by with the scheme. That tells me two things: first, that our forefathers were right in their cynicism about those who would govern, and, second, that the citizens must hold the means to resist.

Which is where I came in.

— Reprinted from *Car & Driver Magazine*, May 1982

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ing. He contends that people "like to be liked" by their very nature, but are tricked into acting immorally or aggressively because of the confusion that surrounds all forms of tyranny. His Tyranny = Confusion, Liberty = Truth dichotomy is one that most libertarians will find attractive. While Bob is a Christian (in the true sense of the word), he is not a dogmatic religious zealot who wants to force his ideas upon others. Indeed, Bob's approach is truly radical libertarianism.

Bob will be offering a free seminar this summer concerning the best way (in his judgement) to achieve a libertarian society. Among the topics will be the following:

- The definition of true justice and its burdens and benefits.
- The definition of tyranny as the only alternative to true justice, and its burdens and benefits.
- How to reduce inflation to zero without wage and price controls or unemployment.
- How anyone can honestly earn as much in two days as they now earn in five without need for a Military/Industrial/Political complex.
- Why government can't be limited by constitutional or other means involving force.

The seminar will be given on two consecutive Saturdays, beginning on June 12th, at 10:00 a.m. at the CLP office, 1041 Cherokee St. Each session will last approximately two hours, subject to the potential interest in extending the discussion period. Those who attend the seminar will receive a free copy of Bob's book, *Liberty Island*. For further details, call me (Craig Green) at 795-1629. This will allow us to plan for the expected attendance. Whether you agree with Bob's approach or not, I think you will be stimulated and encouraged by his presentation. Don't let this one slip through your fingers!

In High Places

(We report on Libertarians in appointed government positions where they are working to reduce statism. We do this partly so you will go out and get on one yourself. Tell us about it and get your name in the *Liberty*.)

Attilio Capanzano is on the long range planning committee of the Arapahoe County Medical Society. This board grants monopolies to certain hospitals, while Dr. Capanzano argues for a free market solution.

Charlie himself. The first thing he asks Beth is what Charlie did to get himself in trouble with the authorities.

Thus is the dramatic conflict established. Ed Horman doesn't think much of his son or his daughter-in-law, that they're just immature, irresponsible children off on a lark in Chile. The rest of the story is about Ed getting to know his son. In his search for Charlie, as he talks to people who knew him and as he lives a while close to Charlie's world, he slowly pieces together the image of a man he never really knew, but that he would be proud to call his son.

I have seen most of Jack Lemmon's movies since he played Ensign Pulver in "Mr. Roberts." I have never seen him better. Most of Lemmon's movies contain at least one scene in which he dashes around in a wild-eyed frenzy. It has been a sort of trademark for him. That scene is missing from "Missing" and good riddance. Lemmon catches perfectly the naive member of the establishment who unwillingly grows too wise, too sad, too disillusioned, by the time his heart-breaking search for his only child ends.

Sissy Spacek plays Beth, wife of the missing Charlie, without a hitch. Beth is a tough part. She's a wise, cynical young woman who desperately loves her husband and who is torn between contempt and love for her fuddy-duddy father-in-law. Spacek gets it all together, believably.

Believability is the key to "Missing." According to the ads and the lead-in, it is based on a true story. You get the feeling that the makers of this movie have done everything they can to be accurate with respect to the facts of the case. The story would have been unbelievable before Watergate. It's too believable now. It's easy to believe that the United States government participated in the overthrow of Allende. The lengths to which it went, according to "Missing," are shocking — but credible.

"Missing" is an excellent movie. It is tense and tight. The pace is steady. The horror is sustained throughout. It shows nobody actually dying. Instead, it shows the action just before or just after, or the dying is just off camera. The US diplomatic corps is poker-faced but distinctly villainous. The relationship between the in-laws develops logically but dramatically.

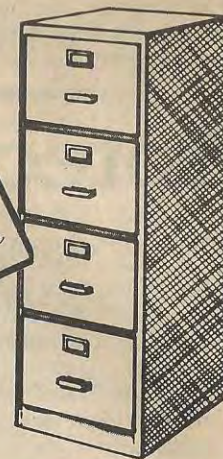
There are a lot of good movies around right now. "Missing" is the best of them. There are a lot of good reasons for Libertarian foreign policy. "Missing" shows the best of them.

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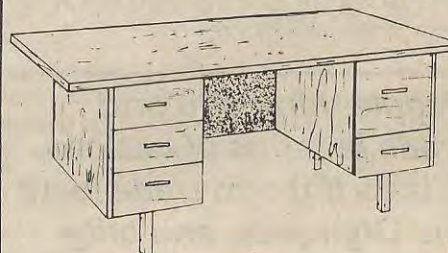
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Protectionism Exposed

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butter and wants shoes, and Smith has shoes but doesn't want butter, money enables them to trade because Smith can then use it to get what he or she wants. Despite this indirectness, buying and selling remain two aspects of the same act. No one wants money for its *own* sake. It is accepted only because the seller believes he or she will later be able to trade it for products he or she wants. The fallacies melt away with this understanding.

This brings us to the "balance of trade." Many people anguish over the fact that Japanese purchasers, for example, bought \$8 billion less of American products in 1980 than Americans bought of theirs the year before. They call this a "trade deficit." Why is this bad? As former Rep. Charles Vanik of Ohio put it, "We sent them \$8 billion of our wealth." Of course, this is absurd.

The wailing about trade deficits is full of problems. First, Americans trade with many people. Why focus on one group arbitrarily? Second, why focus on one arbitrary 12-month period? People trade continuously; there is no reason to believe that freezing the film at an arbitrary date gives us an accurate picture.

But there are deeper problems. How can a trade deficit or "negative trade balance" ever occur? Aggregate trade statistics for Japanese and Americans are ultimately reducible to transactions between individuals. When individuals voluntarily agree to trade, they all expect to benefit, or they would not trade. But if all parties benefit, how can a *negative* balance result? All must experience a "positive" balance. If it is true for individuals, it must be true for the groups they make up.

Individuals can experience a "negative" balance only in the sense that during the same period, they can spend more than they earn, either by reducing their cash balances or borrowing. But that obviously will be made up later by buying less so they can rebuild their cash balances or repay the loan. Again, net benefits accrue to each party or the transaction would not occur.

The people who lose sleep over trade "imbalances" with Japan need only ask themselves: What will the Japanese do with eight billion Federal Reserve Notes? Eventually, the notes will be traded for American products. Japanese holders of

the dollars be traded for American goods. How ridiculous! What will they do — burn them, dump them in the sea or stuff their mattresses? If so, all the better. Americans will have gotten Japanese products for free. (Next year, we can send them one note with lots of zeros.) So while we may hope that foreign sellers will never redeem paper dollars for goods — to the mercantilists' horror — we can count on their doing so.

However, even if they burn their dollars, it would be wrong to say that the U.S. has a trade imbalance or isn't exporting anything. We'd be an exporter of green slips of paper with presidents' pictures on them.

Incidentally, if foreign sellers could redeem their dollars for gold, as in bygone days, the analysis here is not changed materially. The mercantilist fear of an uncontrollable gold outflow is groundless. Each transaction with gold meets the same standards as other transactions: each party expects to benefit. The gold outflow stops when the holders of gold decide they prefer larger cash balances to smaller ones.

Finally on this point, let's imagine the worst case of all from the mercantilist view, namely a situation where the U.S. imports everything and exports nothing. Suppose Japanese producers send us all the goods we want at no charge. The ultimate dumping! Only a practicing ascetic could object. Not only would we have all the goods the Japanese send us, but all our productive resources would be available to produce the other things we want. Fear of this situation rests on the fallacy that there is only a limited amount of wealth possible and only a limited amount of work. Were that true, it would follow that goods produced abroad take away work from people here. But human wants are limitless. There are arrays of items we'd all like but can't afford. Labor and capital are perpetually scarce relative to people's desires.

This is the answer to those who ask what will happen to domestic steel- and auto-makers if imports increase. Should those industries become obsolete, valuable labor, capital, land and entrepreneurship will be available for things we can't afford now. Of course, some people will have to adjust to new conditions. But they knew of that risk when they entered their lines of work. There is no right to a frozen station in the economy regardless of consumer valuation and desire.



Peter Nelson

Jim Phelps

Henry Burke

Art Jubilz

Craig Green

Ruth Bennett

Dave Tyson

Peter Nelson (left) holds forth at typical Wednesday night discussion group, except they hid all the beer, wine and popcorn. Consult the calendar (page 2) and come to one.

Photo by John Williams

Grant Misses Fire Board by One

by Dwight Filley

Paul Grant, National Libertarian Board member, former Libertarian Congressional candidate, and President of Coloradans for Free Enterprise, just missed winning a seat on the Evergreen Fire District Board of Directors, finishing 4th in a 5-way race for the 3 seats. Arguing that fire safety is best handled by individuals, rather than through government's forceful intervention, he conducted a direct mail, telephone and

leafleting campaign in Evergreen to win the post.

The Fire Board position would have enabled Grant to work against laws against open flames and other "unsafe" practices. Interviewed after the election, Grant said, "This is a clear case of special interests being more motivated to vote than ordinary citizens." Although he had ample verbal commitments to win, many of these voters apparently didn't make it to the polls.

Put A Lid On The Folly, Support The Balanced Budget Amendment

by Patrick W. Powell

When an individual spends more than he makes, year after year, disastrous results are inevitable. As the United States is presently proving, it cannot be any different for a nation.

industries has several harmful effects: First, by design it increases costs to anyone buy-

For many years after the revolution, the American economy created new wealth far faster than the government could grow to spend it. Americans began to assume that because we had been free and prosperous for so long, we would always be free and prosperous. Government funds and property came to be regarded by recipients as being "free," rather than as a sacred trust of the people's wealth. Government spending

eight billion Federal Reserve Notes. Eventually, the notes will be traded for American products. Japanese holders of the notes will either send them back or sell them to someone else who will send them back in the form of a purchase payment. We can be assured that no one wants the notes for their *own* sake. (Do you?)

What worries the mercantilists is the thought that the Japanese might never let

is no right to a frozen state in the economy regardless of consumer valuation and desires.

Moreover, the intricate network of worldwide exchange that results from free trade is a great force for peace; war is less likely with so much to lose. That is the answer to those who fear for national security under free trade.

State action to protect so-called mature

industries has several effects: First, by design it increases costs to anyone buying the products involved. Ironically, one of the things that raises American automakers' costs is protection for the steel industry. Second, protectionism harms the workers in the protected industry because their employers are sheltered from the need to find better production methods. They are also harmed because consumer prices are kept artificially high and new job opportunities are prevented from emerging on the market. American exporters are hurt because foreigners can't afford to buy their products if they can't sell. Besides this, foreign nations may retaliate (in more ways than one!).

A new, more sophisticated argument for protectionism has lately been making the rounds. Stumped by the arguments just outlined, the neo-mercantilist answers, "Sure, I'm for free trade, as long as its *fair* trade and the conditions are the same for everyone." Since conditions are never identical, they have an easy time finding excuses for import quotas, "orderly marketing" agreements, trigger-price mechanisms, countervailing duties, etc.

Dumping is the most egregious offense for the neo-mercantilists. But precisely what dumping is they haven't said. We may deduce that dumping occurs when a foreign seller charges prices below costs of production, fair-market value or home-market prices. Let's assume for the moment that these criteria are meaningful: The neo-mercantilists have never showed that dumping is inconsistent with fair competition. Competition is not a game in which players agree to abide by arbitrary rules. It is a process in which producers are left free to satisfy consumers in non-coercive, non-fraudulent ways. Nothing about it excludes dumping from fairness. The charge of dumping simply masks the envy of sellers who can't price as low as their rivals.

The only criterion of a fair price is the consent of buyers and sellers. The inability of competitors to meet a given price signifies nothing in the realm of ethics. The criteria of dumping not only have nothing to do with fairness, they are invalid as pricing standards of any kind: All costs, including costs of production, are opportunities foregone; they are subjective, ephemeral, unquantifiable and inscrutable to others. Fair-market value is meaningless apart from the real market activities of real

(Continued on Page 12)

ty came to be regarded by recipients as being "free," rather than as a sacred trust of the people's wealth. Government spending grew rapidly, and so did taxation. Everyone, it seemed, wanted to live at the expense of the state. But, to paraphrase 19th century economist Frederic Bastiat, we forgot that the state lives at the expense of everyone.

Now, government spending has outgrown our economy and is seriously crippling it. Government deficits are adding to the already crushing burden of government debt. Financing the government is causing interest rates and inflation to skyrocket. Government spending is drying up the pools of capital our economy needs to be internationally competitive and to provide productive jobs for all. Inflation and recession, worsened by deficits, are booming us to lower and lower standards of living. Via tight-money recessions, the government is penalizing the private sector for public sector profligacy.

For years, small groups of concerned citizens and legislators have been trying to control our runaway government. They have succeeded in getting Senate Joint Resolution 58, the Balanced Budget-Tax Limitation Amendment, on the Senate agenda, and it is expected to come to a vote in the next few weeks.

Even though common sense argues strongly for S.J. 58, its passage is uncertain. There are many vested interests who have profited greatly from the runaway growth of government spending and waste. They have a hundred excuses for continuing deficits and tax increases because they don't want to give up their special benefits. They want S.J. 58 defeated.

But the Nation has come to the brink of economic disaster. Government spending is at unsustainable levels; corporate liquidity and financial solvency are at records lows. We cannot afford the defeat of S.J. 58, because S.J. 58 will be a vital step in increasing liquidity, reducing interest rates and unemployment, and restoring real prosperity. That is why it is very important that every citizen reading this should write immediately to his federal senators and urge them to work and vote for S.J. 58. Everyone should also urge his or her friends to do as well.

Not long ago, we Americans found we could no longer afford to buy new houses. Now it's cars. Will we wait until it's *bread* before we act, or will we act now, while there still may be time to act in a civilized and democratic manner?

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Protectionism Exposed

(Continued from Page 11)

people. Home-market prices may be the result of conditions different from those of export markets, and so cannot be used to judge the fairness of prices.

The upshot is that whatever prices emerge on the free market are fair. Dumping is a red herring.

The neo-mercantilists may concede all this, but then charge that the market isn't free. "Japan," they say, subsidizes its industries; underpricing by its firms is not the result of superior productivity. That's unfair competition.

At first glance, there seems to be some merit to this. The governments of Japan and other nations do force their citizens, directly and indirectly, to aid certain industries. The issue, however, isn't so simple. Regulations accompany subsidies, and they may do more harm than the subsidies do "good." Moreover, some alleged subsidies — tax credits, faster depreciation, etc. — are not such because they merely allow producers to keep their own property.

But even if there were genuine subsidies, the case for protection isn't helped. Obviously, the neo-mercantilists are not concerned about foreign citizens being forced to subsidize business. If they were, they wouldn't advocate the same treatment for Americans. More importantly, even large subsidies don't make competition unfair. To be sure, foreign citizens are victims, but no one is being unfair to the American firms.

The subsidy issue is another red herring. Free market advocates, of course, hope that foreign citizens throw off the yoke of protectionism and subsidy in their own countries. But the U.S. government has neither the responsibility, the ability, nor the right to do anything about it. To try would be hypocrisy for it would harm American citizens and grant special privileges to American industries.

One final issue: Many people who claim to be free traders qualify their position by demanding that we not drop our trade barriers until our trading partners do. This also has some surface plausibility, but it withers upon examination. If free trade is good, one-sided free trade, while not as good, must be better than fully controlled trade. Goods are what count! This is true even if foreign governments insist on staunching the flow of goods to their citizens. Rather than making Americans chumps, unilateral free trade would be a shrewd move that would enhance our well-being. In short order, other nations will realize what we've done and rush to do the same. Demands for reciprocity are akin to two persons strangling *themselves* and each declaring

Membership Oath

(Continued from Page 4)

signing an oath against initiation of force unless he's in favor of initiating force. Similarly, it was asked in the fifties why anybody who was not a communist and did not advocate overthrowing the U.S. government by force or violence should mind signing that oath; and the truth is that many who fought the oaths were a little pink. Down through the centuries, in fact, it has been exactly those whose thinking did not run in the standard molds of their time or society who could see most clearly the oppressiveness of an oath that controls thought. When California instituted loyalty oaths for teachers, the historically oppressed Unitarians (and Methodists!) knew instantly that it was a bad thing.

Radical thinkers of past decades and other issues and causes are a pool of potential Libertarians that we can't afford to ignore. While the individual who has all his life been content to think with the masses of society will have no trouble signing an oath about what he thinks, he is, I submit, an unlikely recruit for the Libertarian Party — at least as long as we are at the leading edge of thought.

But enough of abstractions. You may fairly ask in what way am I "pink," because it is true that I mind the content of the Libertarian membership oath as well as the fact of its presence. I feel it forecloses or biases certain arguments and issues that we ought to debate freely — and does so in a slightly tricky and unobvious way.

Let me relate a recent discussion: I was asked to give an example of what I would regard as justified government inter-

an extreme situation.

The Libertarian I was talking to said that my neighbor had not initiated force, in his view, and that I should restrict my recourse to the free market options of buying his land and house or taking him to court — even if neither of those were things I had the resources to do. Liberty is not necessarily easy, I was reminded; and I could always move away from the situation if I wasn't satisfied. That was it; the argument was closed.

When I got home (which is where I always come up with my best "repartee") I said wait a minute! What about the businessman confronted with outrageous OSHA rules? He too can move out of range if he doesn't like it — or go out of business! If barking dogs that keep me from working (or sleeping) are not an initiation of force, then how is an OSHA rule that keeps him from working? The dogs didn't threaten my life or health, but neither do OSHA rules threaten his.

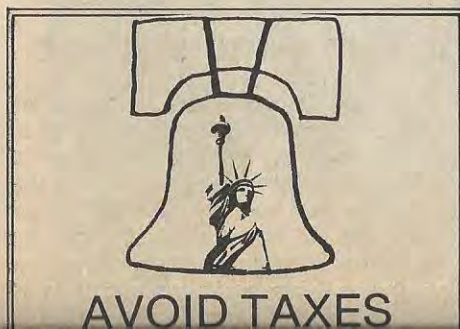
I began to realize that the difference is perhaps that my neighbor was not keeping his dogs "as a means of achieving political or social goals," and it dawned on me what a deceptively tricky wording our oath has. It apparently says all initiation of force is bad; but if so, why the final caveat about goals? In fact, the oath can be read as proscribing only initiation of force for political or social goals, and even as condoning (by omission) initiation of force for private reasons.

Certainly the Libertarian with whom I was arguing was applying an unstated, unobvious double standard to force initiated by my neighbor as opposed to force initiated by an OSHA inspector. And given the presence of the oath it was difficult to counter it — or even to pinpoint what he was doing.

Maybe he was right that dogs are OK and OSHA rules are not, or that *government* force (initial or responsive) is justified in neither case because it is inherently worse than individual force — but if so, he should have stated his premise. I think he won the argument too easily.

Logic is a powerful tool of the intelligent human mind. But it is always necessary to remain aware that when you enter on a logical discourse, you have decided everything — all the results — by your choice of initial premises.

Setting up a single sentence as having such a dominant and unchallengeable position in our set of axioms is an ex-



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other nations will realize what we've done and rush to do the same. Demands for reciprocity are akin to two persons strangling *themselves* and each declaring that he or she won't stop until the other one does.

None of the arguments for protectionism succeeds in shrouding the real motives for its imposition. All of these measures have but one purpose, the granting of special privileges to certain interest groups at the expense of everyone else. We all are ultimately impoverished by these coercive political acts. But more importantly, protectionism breeds international hostility. So it is not only in defense of our prosperity that we oppose protectionism, it is in defense of our peace and liberty as well.

Sheldon Richman, a long-time Libertarian activist, is the Research Director of the Council for a Competitive Economy. He was the chair of the 1981 Libertarian Party Platform Committee that met in Denver at the National Convention in August '81.

tricky and unobvious way.

Let me relate a recent discussion: I was asked to give an example of what I would regard as justified government intervention, and I mentioned the case of a former neighbor who kept several dogs that barked all day while he was gone and occasionally most of the night, and who ignored the pleas of his neighbors. It was an

choice of initial premises.

Setting up a single sentence as having such a dominant and unchallengeable position in our set of axioms is an exceedingly risky and delicate thing to attempt to do.

The editor is intrigued and of two minds about the above. Perhaps a dialogue on the subject will begin on these pages.

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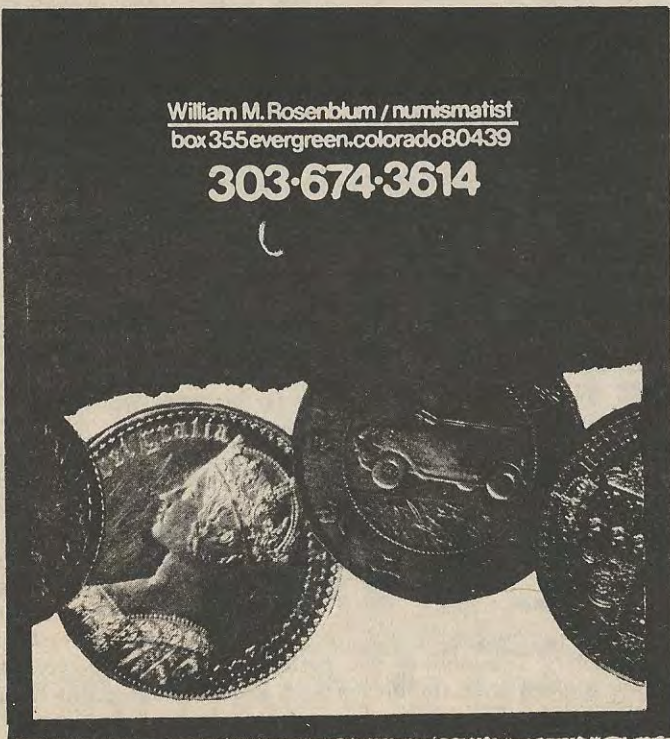
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